/142 cont./
101 162 311 circumstances because with their lower population density they are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system practiced from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

● [167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the [464] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

B /510 cont./
581 relatives, nor any power of the man over the woman, nor even
B household cohabitation. The man and the woman each reside in
591 the village of their maternal kin. The man goes to live with his
593 wife from time to time, providing her with the imported commodities that she needs, notably salt, kerosene, cloth, and utensils, and felling trees for the clearings which she will exploit
B for the benefit of the household.
586 Divorce is entirely free. Unions are not very stable, mainly on account of the woman. Numbers of women are divorced four to five times during their lives.

B The grand man, chief of the tribe, exercises over the Boni a
643 power which is more religious than political.

B The Boni are a pirogue-people. For more than a century they
433 have been living by using their canoes for the benefit of gold-seekers
178 and exploiting miners. The decline of gold extraction is depriving
[501] them more and more of their traditional resources. Some of them
[167] are emigrating temporarily to the coastal lumberyards. But all of them remain faithful to their villages and to their customs.

R /511/
101 The Oayana Indians (Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/). These Indians of the
177 Carîbe /Carib/ ethnic group have had only a few direct contacts
144 with European civilization and still represent without alteration the
R human type which populated Guiana before the arrival of the
161 Europeans. On encountering the Refugee Blacks, the Indians of the Guianese forest have been steadily and rapidly declining. Estimated
R at 30,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Indians
101 of French Guiana are now no more than about a thousand. In
162 addition there must be included in this number 700 persons (Galibi and
131 Arawak) who have been protected by their habitat in the savannas of the coast where malaria is less deadly than in the interior.

R The accounts of travelers and the censuses made notably in
175 1730, 1759, 1787, and 1815 allow one to follow with precision
161 this destruction of the autochthonous population since the first settlement of the Europeans in Guiana (2).

2. Dr. André Sausse, op. cit., pp. 67-98.

125 /517 cont./

We believe the ages are determined with a probable error of less than two years for persons less than 30 years old, two to three years for persons between 30 and 60 years old; and three years above 60. But this error has no systematic character, and one may assume that it is eliminated on the average, disturbing the calculations of fertility and of mortality very little.

[161] [162] Census, age pyramids. The census finished on 1 January 1958 included 811 persons, of whom 666 were from villages on the French bank and 145 on the Surinam bank (Kotika). With regard to the latter, we interrogated them individually when they came over to the French side, particularly when they came to attend the celebrations of the end of mourning at Boniville in November 1957. Temporary absentees (less than 5%) were placed by information provided by their nearest relatives. /518/ /Diagram 1 appears here./

We estimate the omissions in the census at less than 2%. These omissions are almost exclusively a matter of adolescents and young orphans or youngsters raised by persons other than their own parents.

[167] Emigration and immigration are very slight, practically zero as far as the women are concerned. Thus the age pyramid really represents the demographic situation of the Boni and lends itself to complementary calculations of mortality.

Interrogation of the women. The women of the villages on the French bank were questioned about the children they had had and lost. An effort was made to place the dead children in relation to the survivors and in relation to the local chronology. The age of the dead ones was determined by comparison with children or adolescents living at the time of the inquiry.

For the dead adults an attempt was made to fix the year of their death in relation to the local chronology.

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[For additional data on the number of children per woman, mortality, Boni emigrants, and the village of residence of lineage/sib members, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

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This village had no future. its complement did nothing but melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of venereal diseases.

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as
[784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

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582 The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously within Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted between Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term
[784] pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

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[621] The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost
[614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but
[784] the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct bee. They do not have the same kunu.

[582] Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

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101] Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.

[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nɛ̃nge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔ̃pani nɛ̃nge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /Fast India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
1761)

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621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological investigation.

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. ?

? [See 5: Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

/57 cont./

613 The descendants of ○Monika † were scattered among these
621 three villages. △ Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; ○Djalufu lived from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu. Cécilia was raised in Boniville where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not
169 possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

167 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

6:Hurault--303 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Surinam SR4

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Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Surinam, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

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The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Surinam, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

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If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisima upon their death. This was especially the case with an

/198 cont./

169 754 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957. Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

791 829 197 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a completely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

[797]

851 171 165 797 [688] [203] [784] Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 581 571 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage, which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

754 /241 cont./
[126] Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N..., of Kotika, was working gold with another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His near relatives blamed N..., accusing him of wisi. In the night N... took refuge at Benzdorp and took passage on a Djuka
[167] boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo. Since then his sister T... has gone to join him. They have left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dipélu II), while boating on the lower river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told us the story) to stay in a dive for the time necessary to fill a five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up, he had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family
[578] blamed one P..., of Kotika village, whose wife N... had left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats.
[683] They insulted him, they presented Toko's decomposed body to him: "Eat him, since thou hast killed him like game." P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that he be left alone, turning him over to Odun to punish if he were guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died and was declared wisimã.

[464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S..., of Kotika, about 60 years old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Benzdorp Creole who raised oxen. One morning this cattle-raiser saw one of his oxen covered with blood coming from wounds which bore tooth marks and could not have been made by bats. He followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

/242 cont./

754 He accused him of being an azemã (vampire) and of drinking the ox's blood. S... answered nothing, which appeared to everyone obvious proof of his guilt. He untied his boat and went away. Since then everybody in Kotika avoids him; they abstain from accusing him personally in order not to become victims of his sorcery.

Agyémési affair. -- Agyémési, an old man of Asisi village (Awara Bakka) who died in 1953, was a solitary and morose man with odd ways. For a long time he had been accused by B... (of Loka) and by N..., a Djuka living among the Boni, of being a wisimã and of having made them sick. He had even [695] been accused before the grand man, had denied it, and the grand man according to usage had told him: "We leave to God • [167] the job of punishing thee if thou art guilty." Agyémési, in order to flee his persecutors, had settled in the Indian village of Aloïké.

His accusers insisted to people of his lineage that he be brought and publicly interrogated. A... and P... were sent, who went to get him by making him believe that the council of the Awara Bakka lo, putting an end to a long dispute, had decided to name him captain as the doyen of the lo. Without [695] mistrust, he followed them to Asisi. He was received by his accusers who insulted him tumultuously, without, however, there [154] being any blows. The poor man remained speechless, which appeared to all to be the obvious proof of his guilt. He took to his bed and five days later he was dead (1).

1. The Refugee Blacks are so suggestible that the sole fact of seeing oneself cursed and abandoned by all must bring on a psychological shock capable [171] of bringing death. Similar cases have been observed in Africa.

754 /245 cont./
766 ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

754 Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been
181 passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village
178 life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[578] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N..., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[169] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village.

[787] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

[776]